INDIA AS INDIANS SEE IT

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INTRODUCTION

India's image abroad is, indeed, high. Excepting China, she is the largest nation in Afro-Asia; she was considered the leader of the non-aligned bloc—indeed, of the "third force" in the world—for almost a decade; her professions of peace, non-violence and idealism have often been accepted at their face value without much questioning; her voice on various international problems has been heard with utmost care and attention; she was even given, unofficially though, the role of an 'honest' broker between the East and the West for several years.

While such have been her achievements and such her prestige on the international front, her 'achievements' at home have often won her laurels and commendation in high quarters. She has been credited with launching the largest democracy on earth, her 450 million being larger than all the millions that the United States, the United Kingdom and France could ever hope to muster. Her foremost leader, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, has often been held up as a classic example of enlightened leadership in Afro-Asia, indeed, in this wide world today. He is often considered the symbol of hope in Afro-Asia—the one Afro-Asian leader who symbolises in his own uniqueness the new resurgent spirit of emancipation, progress and prosperity for the teeming millions of this vast region.

Such has been the theme of hundreds of books and publications that have rolled off the Press in various parts of the world during the

last fifteen years. Such is the enthusiasm of Indian and western publicists to sing hymns in praise of India and her Nehru and such is the plethora of literature that has been woven round these twin topics that a casual observer would have the least difficulty in getting overwhelmed. Yet, to a little more than casual student of current Indian developments, all this represents a glittering facade behind which the groundwork of reality is anything but flattering: it is, indeed, a true approximation to Hobbes' state of nature—ugly, brutish, degrading. The image that India has put up for consumption abroad is perhaps the greatest hoax of modern history. As a foreign observer remarks: "The Chinese have destroyed the myth that India, under Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, is a major force in international affairs or even a nation in the modern sense."[1]

Superficial observers may call India and Nehru what their fertile imagination may conjure up at first contact with the Indian scene, but the record of the Nehru Government is there for all to see who bother to go a little below the surface, behind the loud and long professions of idealism, peace, democracy and wholesouled concern for India's roaring millions by the country's leaders. The record is there buried in the pages of India's newspapers, weeklies and periodicals, in the voluminous reports of the proceedings of the Lok Sabha and the Rajya Sabha, and of the State Assemblies. Anyone, who cares to go into these even casually, is bound to be aghast at the divergence between India's accepted image and the mocking reality behind it. And this little booklet is but a modest attempt at portraying some facets of that mocking reality behind India's glittering facade.

It would be in the fitness of things that in order to introduce the subject to the reader we may pinpoint here some of the divergence that is so obvious to any discerning observer. For instance, what of the tall claim made by Indians that theirs is the truest democracy in Asia? To this there could be no better testimony than that of a luminary and thinker like the Indian President himself: "What we have in India today", he says, "is not real democracy but only a

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[1] Robert S. Elegant, "The Myth of India", *The New Leader* (New York), Vo.. XLV, No. 25, 10 December, 1962.

phoney democracy. If we are true democrats which, I may say, we are not, there would not have been so much of discontent and ill-will." Then we would not have "any kind of nepotism, corruption and communal prejudice, which have brought down the country to degradation."[2]

The concept of democracy rests on the concept of fundamental rights which must be guaranteed to every citizen of a democratic state. This the Indian rulers have often proclaimed from house-tops but, in reality, "sixteen years after India became independent, the people are engaged in a fight for fundamental rights against an Indian Government ... Almost every amendment (to the Constitution) curtailed or modified the rights of citizens. Now the very basic right of redressal by courts has been taken away in the name of the emergency."[3]

Democracy without a free Press is a misnomer, and the Indian Government has lost no opportunity to send the stock of the freedom of the Press skyrocketing. Yet, "to this day threats of withdrawal of Government advertising and discreet phone calls from the ministries keep the Press from going too far. It is almost inconceivable that the Press of any other 'democratic' country would accept without question the unsubstantiated reports of the magnitude of the Chinese armies which Indian newspapers have published."[4]

This, however, is not a recent phenomenon. Such curbs have been enforced from time to time. In 1951, for instance, a Canadian daily remarked: "Dealing with democracy and freedom in the abstract, Mr. Nehru speaks the accent of the West, but when it comes to administration in his own country—as witness his recent curbs on the Press—the accent becomes that of a dictator."[5]

"Parliamentary democracy", which is claimed to have been such a spectacular success in India is, to quote an Indian weekly, "obviously on its way out in India. The Kamaraj Resolution invests the Prime Minister with the sole authority of deciding who should remain

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[2] *Indian Express* (Bombay), 30 September 1963.
[3] *Blitz* (Bombay), 15 August 1963.
[4] Elegant, *loc. cit.*
[5] *The Evening Journal* (Ottawa), 17 July 1951.

Minister in the Congress-run States and who should be pulled out to work for the Congress organisation." And "if this is not a totalitarian concept", inquires a Delhi weekly, "we would like to know what is . . . ."[6]

Indeed, Indian democracy, in the eyes of an Indian daily, is "poised on a razor's edge dependent as it has been for many years on one party and a single leader faced by a nominal and divided opposition".[7]

Independence of the judiciary is the very essence of democracy and yet "instances are many when the high hand of the executive tried to dictate terms to the judges, thereby threatening the independence of the judiciary".[8]

So much for Indian "democracy". What of Mr. Nehru's oft-paraded love for socialism? According to Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia, the noted Socialist leader, five lakhs of "starvation deaths" and 40 lakhs of "premature deaths" take place in India every year.[9] Even according to the Indian Planning Commission, he says, 27 crores of people live on mere three annas a day . . . . while the Prime Minister's dog costs Rs. 3/- a day.[10]

Amazingly though, "after 13 years of planned economy and some five billion dollars worth of American assistance", writes Sharakh Sabavala, the New Delhi correspondent of the *Christian Science Monitor*, "60 per cent of India's 440 millions still earn between 1/4 and 1/2 rupees a day per person . . . A vast majority of the Indian population still lies at a level which is virtually inseparable from starvation."[11]

This hopeless situation which, indeed, is a sad commentary on the Indian rulers' economic "achievements" is succinctly summed up by an Indian weekly when it says: "The increasing burden of taxation, unemployment among the educated youth, the growth of monopoly among the capitalists, the progressive impoverishment of the middle

[6] *Organiser* (Delhi), 19 August 1963.
[7] *Indian Express*, 22 September 1963.
[8] *Current* (Bombay), 29 June 1963.
[9] *Indian Express*, 5 October 1963.
[10] *Times of India* (Bombay), 22 August 1963.
[11] *Christian Science Monitor* (Boston), 24 October 1963.

classes, have all created conditions ripe for a revolution. The promised socialistic pattern of society seems to be receding into the background. It may elude our grasp like the proverbial will o' the wisp."[12]

Now, as regards non-alignment—the illusion on which Mr. Nehru fed the whole Afro-Asian world these last fifteen years. "Bells have begun to toll for our policy of non-alignment and our special attachment for the emerging forces of the Afro-Asian world", writes the *Blitz*. "The leader of the non-aligned world", it says candidly, "has started developing in its gait a rightist limp for all to see . . . The winged pall-bearers (western supersonic aircraft) are going to be here soon to bury non-alignment over the Himalayan terrain and dump its ashes down the sacred rivers."[13] The policy of non-alignment, says Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia, is " negative, dangerous and useless . . . Non-alignment in the true sense of the term, in fact, (does) not exist."[14]

On the domestic front, so deeply corrupted is India's public life that even Mr. Nehru cannot help talking of setting up an "anti-corruption machinery" covering Ministers, public men and all those employed in the administration.[15] In the view of *Organiser*, however, the malady has "become so entwined with the Congress that to kill the one is to kill the other".[16] "Like a malignant tumour", says *Blitz*, "corruption seems to gain new life and new dimensions with every measure that is taken to wipe it off."[17]

"The malady is caused by the fact that ideologically the Congress is not a cohesive party".[18] "Today, the Congress is at sixes and sevens within itself and is no inspiring example to the rest of the country."[19] Even the so-called emergency has failed to cement the fissures in its fast crumbling edifice. "How can a party", asks the *Times of India*, "which runs the Government in every State, justify its failure to settle

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[12] *Blitz*, 20 July 1963.
[13] *Ibid.*
[14] *Tribune*, (Jullundur), 14 July 1963.
[15] *Indian Express*, 4 November 1963.
[16] 15 August 1963.
[17] 6 July 1963.
[18] *Blitz*, 10 August 1963.
[19] *Indian Express*, 4 October 1963.

inter-factional quarrels and inter-State disputes even under the stress of the emergency? What excuse can the Government have for evading a judicial inquiry when charges of graft and shady deals are brought up against Ministers by responsible memebers of its own party."?[20]

No wonder, despite all the claims to the contrary, the internal stock of the Nehru Government continues to hurtle down everyday. Seventy two oppo.ition members created a sensation when for the first time in India's parliamentary history they joined hands to force a no-confidence motion against Nehru in the monsoon session of the Lok Sabha which opened on August 13, 1963.[21] And Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, the veteran Indian leader and a former Governor-General of India, sent out a call to "the Indian people to resist the worst type of tyrant government through mass agitation and impressive demonstration . . ..."[22]

Worse still, perhaps the tallest pillar of Mr. Nehru's strength—his claim, so widely propagated throughout the world, that India is a secular state—is now no more than a tottering edifice. Whatever Nehru may tell the world, a different tale altogether is told by leaders of the Indian minorities themselves—and by neutral observers of the Indian scene. The Muslims complain of "complacency, inefficiency and indifference of the authorities" towards them, of "discrimination" in the matter of services, of subjection to "untold miseries and persecution in the secular democracy of India".[23] Even the pro-Congress Jamiat-ul-Ulema-e-Hind could not but express concern over "the miseries of the Muslims of Alwar, Bharatpur and West Bengal where even after 16 years of Independence the Muslims had not been restored their properties and mosques".[24]

Communal rioting is still a regular feature of the Indian scene. Apart from minor riots, two major flare-ups occurred in 1961 alone: in Jubbalpore in February, and in Aligarh and surrounding areas in

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[20] 24 August 1963.
[21] *Dawn* (Karachi),14 August 1963.
[22] *Pakistan Times* (Lahore), 9 August 1963.
[23] *See* Syed Badrudduja's speech in the Lok Sabha reported in *Pakistan Times* (Rawalpindi), 8 June 1963. It is worthwhile to note that Badrudduja has all along been a 'nationalist'— and was opposed to the Pakistan demand.
[24] *Morning News* (Karachi), 15 June 1963.

October. In the Jubbalpore riots, "as the *Hindu* correspondent and other responsible Indian writers . . . commented local politicians . . . worked their vitriolic charms with great ease in order to incite violence".[25] Surprisingly though, all the 30 accused in the Jubbalpore rioting case were released on the ground that the prosecution had failed to prove its case.[26]

Serious riots broke out in West Bengal in April-May 1962 in which at least 1,000 persons were killed in Maldah district, and "a still undetermined number of Muslims, believed to be in the hundreds, (were) thought to have perished as religious hysteria spread to the Murshidabad district". About 4,000 refugees were registered in Rajshahi alone.[27]

It would be wrong to assume, however, that the steam roller of the Caste-Hindu majority seeks to crush the Muslims alone. Harijan men, women and children are murdered and burnt to death.[28] They are beaten and tied with ropes around their necks for the 'unparadonable' crime of trying to draw water from wells used by Caste Hindus.[29] Even the Sikhs, one-time allies of the Congress against Muslims, fear total extinction as a separate entity on the Indian political scene: Master Tara Singh declared that the extremist Hindus "want the disintegration of Sikhism and its absorption in Hinduism".[30] He has also accused the Hindus of wanting the minorities "to accept annihilation quietly".[31]

And the Nagas who have been fighting a war for Independence all these fifteen years complain of untold atrocities by the Indian Government. Their leader, Phizo, claimed in January 1962 that one

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[25] Rowle Knox, "The Jubbalpur Massacre" (*P.T.-Observer* Service) *The Pakistan Times*, 26 February, 1961. *See* also the accusation levelled by Homi F. Daji, a member of the Madhya Pradesh State Assembly, against local authorities in *ibid.*, 19 February 1961.

[26] *Dawn*, 25 December 1961.

[27] *See* Robert Trumbell's despatch in *The New York Times*, 4 May 1962.

[28] *Indian Express*, 4 April 1963.

[29] *Dawn*, 8 July 1963.

[30] *See* Master Tara Singh's Press Conference in New Delhi, 7 April 1959: *Dawn*, 8 April 1959.

[31] Statement, 16 August 1958: *Morning News*, 17 August 1958.

hundred thousand Nagas had been killed by the Indian troops and that he had documentary proof of 75,000 deaths till 1959.[32]

All of which is perhaps enough to give a glimpse to the reader of what follows in the succeeding pages. Ugly, at places even nauseating, though the picture is, it is, nevertheless, real—and down to earth.

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[32] *Dawn*, 23 January 1962. For Naga charges of Indian atrocities, *see* George Patterson, "Naga General: I have Indian 'atrocity' proof", *The Observer*, 3 June 1962: George Patterson, "Indians killed one in ten", *The Observer*, 10 June 1963: *The Civil and Military Gazette* (Lahore), 7 August 1960; *Dawn*, 17, 21 and 30 January 1962.

CHAPTER I

INDIAN "DEMOCRACY"

"What we have in India today is not real democracy, but only a phoney democracy", Dr. S. Radhakrishnan said today. "If we are true democrats which, I may say, we are not", the President observed, "there would not have been so much of discontent and ill-will."

Then they would not have "any kind of nepotism, corruption, and communal prejudice which have brought down the country to degradation".—*Indian Express*, Bombay, 30 September 1963.

Sixteen years after India became independent, people are engaged in a fight for fundamental rights against an Indian Government.

Who are the Ministers of the Indian Government? Those who took a leading part in declaring and defining the fundamental rights at the Karachi Session of the Indian National Congress in 1931 . . .

Those fundamental rights have been suspended by a Government of which that Nehru is Prime Minister . . .

The Constitution of India has been amended 16 times and is sought to be amended a 17th time . . .

In India, almost every amendment curtailed or modified the rights of citizens. Now the very basic right of redressal by courts has been taken away in the name of the Emergency.—*Blitz*, Bombay, 5 August 1963.

Bangalore, August 6: Mr. C. Rajagopalachari today called for a country-wide agitation against the "tyrannical, fundamental interference with the rights of the people" represented by the proposed 17th amendment to the Constitution.

Even if petitions, protests and demonstrations failed and Parliament accepted the amendment, the fight must go on because "laws are made and unmade if the people make up their minds", he told an all-party conference attended by Swatantra, Congress and Hindu Mahasabha delegates from South India.

The conference passed a resolution saying: "that the Bill sought to get over the Supreme Court judgement and expose the institution of property to the perils of "absolutism and despotism, and thereby undermining the freedom enshrined in our Constitution".

The Bill, which had the object of legalising a fraud on the Constitution with retrospective effect from January 1950 nullified the Fundamental Rights contained in Articles 14, 19 and 31 by making justice and compensation discretionary of the executive and non-justiciable in a manner repugnant to democracy and long-established notions of natural justice, it said.

Mr. Rajagopalachari who spoke after the resolution was passed said .... the 17th amendment struck at the root of the security of property .... If the amendment was accepted, the whole chapter on Fundamental Rights might be torn off for there would be nothing left of the Fundamental Rights ...

In his inaugural address, Mr. M. K. Nambiar, an eminent advocate presented the legal consequences of the amendment. If the amendment became law, "no land Act made by any legislature, however harsh, oppressive or unjust, however arbitrary in application, discriminatory in operation or confiscatory in effect could ever be touched by a court of law, nor injury caused thereby, however grave, ever be redressed."—*Times of India*, Bombay, 7 August 1963.

Since freedom dawned many have lost the integrity, the honest pride, that won it for us. Satiated with material success, entrenched in the belief that power is permanent, they have grown callous.

.... Those who once did not fear to face bullets are now fearful

even of criticism. Entrenched in authority, they assume a mantle of self-righteousness and either ignore or seek to stifle honest opposition.—*Current*, Bombay, 17 August 1963.

Mr. A. K. Gopalan speaking (in the Lok Sabha) on his Resolution on the Defence of India Rules said: "I do not understand the necessity for the emergency except for keeping some of the trade unions and kisan leaders inside the jails. Except for that, there is no reason why the emergency should continue.

"How long will the fundamental rights of the citizens be taken away when it is not necessary and when there is no necessity for the emergency?

"If Parliament does not set right the wrong immediately and the executive chooses to persist in violating the Constitution, liberty alone will not be the casualty. With it will be buried the rule of law, respect for the Constitution and the democratic traditions of national and individual freedom."—*New Age*, Delhi, 15 September 1963.

Dr. Lohia (speaking in the Lok Sabha) accused the Government of misusing the emergency and said that it was wrong to arrest people like Mr. Kisen Patnaik, a Socialist member of the Lok Sabha and the Bombay trade union leader, Mr. George Fernandes, under the Defence of India Rules.—*Times of India*, Bombay, 22 August 1963.

Mr. K. Manoharan (DMK) said Government (was) damaging the unity which the nation had displayed in the wake of the Chinese invasion. Reiterating his party's demand for a sovereign state, he said the Government was arming itself with the powers to repress their movement.

Mr. A. K. Gopalan charged the Government with misusing the Defence of India Rules to suppress the expression of resentment of the toiling millions against the wrong economic policies as in the case of the Bombay strike. These rules had not been used against profiteers and black-marketers.—*Times of India*, Bombay, 21 August 1963.

Acharya Kripalani criticised the promulgation of the emergency (and said) they (Government) passed laws which had never been passed by any democracy in war. He pulled out from his leather case a bundle of telegrams which he heaped on his desk and said that he was not alone in criticising the Government. These telegrams said: "This Government is tyrannising."—*Times of India*, Bombay, 20 August 1963.

Mr. Trivedi, the Jana Sangh leader, accused the Government of misusing the Defence of India Rules for putting behind bars persons belonging to opposition parties: "It is our bounden duty to organise the Opposition."—*Times of India*, Bombay, 20 August 1963.

. . . Indiscipline, noisy demonstrations and walk-outs have become far too frequent. They hold up the normal processes of debate, and bring the legislatures into contempt.

Outside the legislatures too, political activities are in no way conducive to the building up of a democratic system.—*Current*, Bombay, 17 August 1963.

Acharya Kripalani has said, democracy in India was dangerously shaken by the continued possession of power for the last 15 years by the Congress. The situation became worse when that party abjured its authority in favour of the leaders in the Central and State Governments.

Those in the Government, unless kept in check by the organization, would continue to use their power to strengthen themselves with a view to retaining power at all costs..—*The Hindustan Times*, Delhi, 2 June 1963.

The "so-called" Kamaraj Plan and Mr. Nehru's decision on it would only further wean the masses away from the ruling party. Mr. C. Rajagopalachari said: "The party has become internally weak. It has been maintaining its strength through money and power. Already, the people are against such maintenance. The new attempt

to rejuvenate the party will only make the people more antagonistic towards the Congress."—*Times of India*, Bombay, 26 August 1963.

Mr. N. V. Gadgil has said, the decision taken by the AICC empowering the Prime Minister to do whatever he liked in regard to the reorganization of ministries in the Centre and the States is not a democratic decision.

I doubt whether the Prime Minister can exercise such powers in respect of States in accordance with the Constitution.

No President of the Congress has functioned independently of the Prime Minister. He has to be the Prime Minister's rubber-stamp, as one *ex*-President is reported to have said sometime ago.—*Organizer*, Delhi, 19 August 1963.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari has said: With the " ministerial aura " still clinging to them and with the possibility of their returning to power always present, it was obvious that (the Kamaraj Plan) would only add to the atmosphere of corruption and nepotism pervading the country.

Mr. Minoo Masani, M.P., and Mr. N. G. Ranga, M.P., drew comfort from the fact that the masses had gradually come to realize the implications of Congress misrule.—*Statesman*, New Delhi, 16 August 1963.

" In a desperate bid to recapture power which seems to be slipping through his hands, Prime Minister Nehru, relying only on his personal popularity, used the Kamaraj Plan for a purpose for which it was never originally intended—to enable him to offer twelve sacrifices to the Goddess of Power."—D. F. Karaka in *Current*, Bombay, 7 September 1963.

Parliamentary democracy, as it is commonly understood, is obviously on its way out in India. The Kamaraj Resolution invests the Prime Minister with the sole authority of deciding who should remain Minister in the Congress-run States and who should be pulled out to work for the Congress organisation. If this is not a totalitarian concept, we would like to know what it is. Whether the

move is intrinsically commendable or not is beside the point. It certainly is not democratic.—*Organizer*, Delhi, 19 August 1963.

Mr. Raj Narain, Chairman of the Socialist Party, today described the Kamaraj Plan as " Nehru bachao plan ".

The Kamaraj Plan would do no good to the administration and it was a mad man's dream, he added.—*Indian Express*, Bombay, 1 October 1963.

Mr. S. K. Patil, former Union Food Minister, said here today that " the Kamaraj Plan, instead of helping, has marred the administration ".

He said: " The administration has not only deteriorated during the past one month, but it has come to a fullstop, as nobody knows when he will have to go."—*Times of India*, Bombay, 22 September 1963.

Dr. Mankekar in his Column " In The Nation " writes : It (Kamaraj Plan) seems to have created unprecedented bitterness within the ranks of the Congress leadership and cracked the facade of unity at the top and served to accelerate the process of polarisation that has been going on within the party for long.—*Indian Express*, Bombay, 18 September 1963.

Mr. Kamath said, the working of the Kamaraj Plan during the last few weeks indicated that internal struggle for power in the Congress would be accentuated. The administration could not be strengthened by the exit of tried and proved Ministers.—*Times of India*, Bombay, 3 October 1963.

This is not to say that Congress leadership is alone and entirely responsible for the present state of the party. The fact that we have introduced democracy in an economically backward country at least partly explains the present corruptions. Rival bosses have used money and caste and what not in a bid to control the

Congress party, and so to influence local officials—and even Ministers—in their own and their friends' favour. That democratic freedom should have been used in this manner to improve position in a hungry country, is not to be wondered at. But that the leadership should have tolerated it for fear of toppling some Congress leaders was no service to the country.—*Organizer*, Delhi, 19 August 1963.

Since the dawn of Independence, India has become a centre of attraction for all as the largest democracy of Asia. Our progress in the economic, social and even educational spheres has been tardy. There may be many reasons to account for it but the internal dissensions, disruption, lack of discipline and unity can be quoted as some of the factors retarding our progress. Evils like casteism, indiscipline, parochialism and religious bigotry have been gnawing at the vitals of our democracy which, truly speaking, has yet to take firm roots in our soil.—*Flame*, Delhi, 15 August 1963.

......Open squabbles such as those being witnessed in Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Bihar, charges of corruption such as those made in Kerala and Orissa and even the strange proceedings relating to the change of portfoilo and threat of resignation by Mr. S. K. Patil, do not add up to an expression of faith in democratic methods.—*Current*, Bombay, 17 August 1963.

Democracy is a difficult form for a Government to maintain. Our own traditions have been mainly autocratic, though the concept of Dharma made the autocracy optimally benevolent and sensitive to the will of the people. The Middle Ages, however, wrecked that ideal beyond repair and for centuries the people have been apathetic to the ways, methods and quality of the Government. The Congress turning opportunist with the taste of unlimited power has exploited this tradition to establish a form of despotism under the garb and trappings of democracy.—*Organizer*, Delhi, 8 July 1963.

" India, too, enjoys democracy poised on a razor's edge dependent as it has been for many years on one party and a single leader

faced by a nominal and divided opposition."—Frank Moraes in *Indian Express*, Bombay, 23 September 1963.

The year that has closed—the 16th since we became free—has, indeed, been a sad one......We have seen the complete forgetting of all the high ideals of service and sacrifice that we held dear in the days of the freedom struggle, and have witnessed a scramble for power, vulgar and unbecoming in the extreme. Instead of putting 'service' before 'self', we seem to have put 'self' before 'service' with a vengeance.—*Organizer*, Delhi, 15 August 1963.

" Nehru is sensitive to the forms of democracy but not always to its spirit and content. Else, how does one explain the use of the steam roller Congress majority in the legislature to amend frequently a Constitution devised and passed after due deliberation by the Constituent Assembly in the first radiance of freedom ? The glow of Independence has dimmed and with it the spirit enshrined in the Constitution has shrivelled. The seventeenth amendment is the latest example of a democratic socialism at work in India."—Frank Moraes in *Indian Express*, Bombay, 2 September 1963.

Archarya Vinoba Bhave regretted that Congressmen " by their mad lust for power " had reduced the Kamaraj Plan into a " bekam-raj or useless plan".—*Times of India*, Bombay, 20 October 1963.

......The working of our Constitution for the last 16 years has shown that basically we are not a democratic people; and curiously enough, no efforts are being made to make us so.—*Organizer*, Delhi, 15 August 1963.

Instances are many when the high hand of the executive tried to dictate terms to the judges, thereby threatening the independence of the judiciary.—*Current*, Bombay, 29 June 1963.

It is almost universally held that the large majorities that the Congress party has enjoyed in the legislatures of the land for the

last 15 years is proving harmful to the best interests of the country. It is also proving harmful to the health and vigour of our democracy and even the Congress itself. It is also a fact that Congress has its huge majorities in the legislatures with only about 40 per cent of the votes cast. As only about 50 per cent of the voters on an average cast their votes at general elections, the Congress gains its huge majorities in the Councils of the country with only about 20 per cent of the total votes.—*Organizer*, Delhi, 15 August 1963.

Though democratic in name, India was fast being given a " Prime Ministerial form of Government", said Mr. C. S. Venkatachar, former Secretary to the President, in Bombay.

" A Cabinet Minister has merely become an agent of the Prime Minister. He has either to obey or get out ", he added.

Mr. Venkatachar blamed the " mal-adjustment between politicians and the civil service " for bringing the country to the present state of affairs.—*Times of India*, Bombay, 4 October 1963.

Free India has chosen to be a Parliamentary democracy and it has had three general elections......

But the actual experience of elections over these years has also revealed glaring defects in India's electoral laws and election system which, if not remedied, may spell the ruin of the Indian democracy.

Most of the flaws in our election system emanate from the basic fact that it has been modelled on the British pattern without taking into consideration the glaring differences between the historical background and the existing socio-economic conditions in the two countries.

The first, and in a way, the most far-reaching defect in the Indian election system, pertains to the nature and system of franchise. The British came to have adult franchise in 1928.......Here in India adult franchise was introduced with sudden swiftness in 1950. It was no doubt a progressive and democratic step, but in view of the general ignorance and poverty of the Indian masses, and their traditional

background of looking to the authority of the caste leader, the landlord and the Government of the day, adult franchise provided the ruling Congress Party in India with the surest guarantee of success at the polls......

Another glaring defect in the election system revealed by the experience of the last three general elections is that a party actually representing only a minority of electorate has been successively put in the saddle at the Centre and most of the States.........

Resort to large-scale impersonation and bogus voting, and use of money and liquor to influence, or purchase votes, which have become major and growing electoral malpractices in India are closely linked with the fact of a poor and backward electorate.—*Organizer*, Delhi, 15 August 1963.

The present-day leaders and servants elected by the popular will—some of whom were Gandhi's followers—show the least concern for the reaction their ways of life would produce on the mass mind and thus get alienated from the people.

Can a single one of them deny the good things of life that cannot reach " unto the last " of the land or can be liberal and progressive enough to condemn dowry system, marriages arranged by guardians without the consent of the bride, non-admission of untouchables in temples and denial of comforts to those who work with hands?

Can they meet the prostitutes and talk with them; can they say that they have no hesitation in affirming that abduction is no bar to the return of an abducted girl to her home because no purification or penance is necessary?—*Blitz*, Bombay, 15 August 1963.

The Kamaraj proposals for curing the ills which beset the Congress are nothing but theatricality.

Ministers who went to work for the party would continue to wield as much influence as before.

The possibility of Ministers returning to the Government after a spell of party work was analogous to that of a *sanyasi* re-marrying.—C. Rajagopalachari in *Organizer*, Delhi, 19 August 1963.

......By merely asking a few Ministers to step down and devote themselves to party work, the Congress is not solving the real problems which have corroded the faith of the people in the ruling party.—*Flame*, Delhi, 15 August 1963.

It is, nevertheless, amusing that the Congress should now wish to draft important people for organisational work. The organisation did have important people like Acharya Kripalani and Purushottam Das Tandon as Presidents. But they were not tolerated. Mr. Nehru wanted to be President himself, or, in the alternative, to have, in the words of a subsequent incumbent of that office, a "rubber-stamp President". The present Congress *palsy* is at least as old as the forced exit of these two great leaders. No crocodile tears today will wash out the sin of pushing out duly elected Congress President.—*Organizer*, Delhi, 19 August 1963.

The truth is that no one is genuine about his desire to resign. If Mr. Nehru really felt that he should do organizational work rather than be M.P., he is strong-minded enough to set an example by resigning from the second highest office in the land.

The lead must come from the top. If Mr. Nehru does not resign, other Cabinet Ministers will feel equally convinced that they are equally indispensable. In the end a handful of second-raters will resign, and Congress will go still further into rut.—Editorial, *Current*, Bombay, 17 August 1963.

Poona, August 25: Commenting on the resignation of Union and State Ministers, Mr. N. V. Gadgil, a former Union Minister, said: "By changing the scales, you cannot improve the quality of the things that you are weighing in them."......

He feared that with the exit of top Ministers, the Prime Minister would be automatically vested with dictatorial powers and the country would have to look forward to a complete dictatorial regime.—*Times of India*, Bombay, 26 August 1963.

New Delhi, August 25:......Mr. N. G. Ranga, leader of the Swatantra group in Parliament, said that Mr. Nehru was " only finding scapegoats for his wrong policies".

He maintained that the country was demanding a change in the attitude of the Congress towards the people. The Gold Control Order, the Compulsory Deposit Scheme and the various taxation measures had exacerbated the people, but it was only Mr. Morarji Desai, who was resigning and not the entire Cabinet......

Mr. Ranga felt that the resignation of office by six Ministers and not by the Prime Minister, in these circumstances, raised a question of constitutional propriety which should be examined.

The Kamaraj Plan was nothing more than " window dressing " and would " boomerang on the Congress itself "......

Mr. S. N. Diwedy, leader of the PSP group in the Lok Sabha, described the whole scheme as " wrong "......He was inclined to think that the resignations had been arranged to " obviate certain difficulties that are growing in the Congress organisation as well as in some of the State Governments".—*Times of India*, Bombay, 26 August 1963.

Madras, August 25: The " socalled " Kamaraj Plan and Mr. Nehru's decision on it would only further wean the masses away from the ruling party, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari said here today......

" The party has become internally weak. It has been maintaining its strength through money and power. Already, the people are against such maintenance. The new attempt to rejuvenate the party will only make the people more antagonistic towards the Congress."—*Times of India*, Bombay, 26 August 1963.

CHAPTER II

NON-ALIGNMENT

Bells have begun to toll for our policy of non-alignment and our special attachment for the emerging forces of the Afro-Asian world.

The leader of the non-aligned world has started developing in its gait a Rightist limp for all to see. The ugly Westerly curve in its policy of non-involvement will soon be fitted with an Air Umbrella of Western make......

The very name "joint exercise" is a misnomer. India has no supersonic planes and the West has consistently refused to part with any. India has no trained pilots either to fly along with their Western Comrades and familiarise themselves with the Himalayan terrain...

The hideous reality remains, however, the same. Operational control over joint exercises will remain with the visitors.........

With whatever name you choose to call the American booby-trap, it is the old despicable and discredited Umbrella that is sought to be brought back through the side door......

So we may be sure that the winged pall-bearers are going to be here soon to bury non-alignment over the Himalayan terrain and dump its ashes down the sacred rivers.—*Blitz*, Bombay, 20 July 1963.

New Delhi, August 19: Acharya Kripalani today charged the Central Council of Ministers headed by the Prime Minister,

Mr. Nehru, with failure in its home as well as foreign policies......

"Are we a neutral nation so far as China is concerned? We are not neutral at all. We are a belligerent nation"......

Referring to the Voice of America agreement, the Acharya said the way in which it was agreed upon and signed without knowing its implications and the way in which the matter had been reopened showed "a very strange way of conducting the government of a big country"......

Mr. M. R. Masani said that non-alignment was being used as "a cloak for appeasement of communism".—*Times of India*, Bombay, 20 August 1963.

New Delhi, August 21:......Dr. Lohia, who spoke for nearly an hour (during the debate on the no-confidence motion in the Lok Sabha) made a relentless attack on Mr. Nehru.........Under Mr. Nehru's stewardship, the country had come to be dependent on external aid, principally from the United States, for its food, arms and economic growth......

The Indian Government (he said) was the only one in the world which was divided on its external policies. Some members of the Government were aligned with the West and others with the Soviet bloc. Dr. Lohia argued that India was not non-aligned but "its soul is split"......

Dr. Lohia said: "One Minister of this Government clings to the U.S. and another to the USSR and the magician tries to hold the balance by the charm of his personality and they call it non-alignment"......

"The trouble is that the approach of this Government to problems is pervert. An efficient Minister here is not one who increases production, but one who can bring more MIGs from Russia or more food from America."—*Times of India*, Bombay, 22 August 1963.

Organizer is today in a position to say that the Prime Minister knew all about the AIR-VOA Agreement before it was signed.

Why should he give the silent impression that he didn't, is for psycho-analysts to say.

Organizer is further in a position to say that the matter was also formally referred by the I. & B. Ministry to the External Affairs Ministry, which okayed it.

And *Organiser* learns that the letter authorising the Information and Broadcasting Secretary, Shri Nawab Singh, to negotiate and sign the Agreement was signed by none else but the President of India.—*Organizer*, Delhi, 5 August 1963.

And as for Bokaro, perhaps it is good to remember that while we are not a beggar, we are not much of a chooser either. We are getting much more US economic aid—over Rs. 350 crores in 1962—than any other country. Pakistan, which comes second, gets only half that. Only this week they sanctioned us almost Rs. 50 crores for our first atomic power station at Tarapore, Gujerat.

Bokaro will cost some Rs. 500 crores. Why should we be impatient if USA wants to have a closer—and longer—look at what would be the biggest single US foreign aid project ever undertaken anywhere? We need Bokaro.—*Organizer*, Delhi, 8 July 1963.

How can the Congress blame its critics for not understanding the real implications of non-alignment when its own senior officials and Ministers process a deal which openly compromises that policy?—*Times of India*, Bombay, 24 August 1963.

Allahabad July 13 (PTI): Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia, Socialist leader, has characterised the policy of non-alignment pursued by the Government of India in the international sphere as " negative, dangerous and useless ". Non-alignment, in the true sense of the term, in fact, did not exist, he said.

Elaborating his thesis, Dr. Lohia said India was " aligned by halves with the Atlantic and the Soviet Power blocs " and Mr. Nehru had hoped that by some magic non-alignment would result out of this sort of " alignment ".

Asked what he would have done if he were in the position of the Prime Minister, Dr. Lohia said : " I would get rid of two sources of dependence—dependence on American dollar for plans and Russian veto for Kashmir ".—*Tribune*, Ambala, 14 July 1963.

Here is a party which would like us to be aligned—with Russia and/or China. And it talks of non-alignment! It talks thus, just to to keep us away from the West. The country has decided on a selective alignment—that is friendship with whatever countries—democratic or communist—that are friendly to us. It is a groping for optimum alignment—that is just the right combination of alignment and non-alignment that suits us best. No, we have no use for the " non-alignment " of alignists and the "socialism" of communists.—*Organizer*, Delhi, 8 July 1963.

Mr. Bhailabhai Patel, Chairman of the Gujrat unit of the Swatantra Party and leader of the Opposition in the Gujrat Vidhan Sabha, said here yesterday that the Congress Government had incurred huge foreign debts and was making the country dependent on others.—*Indian Express*, Bombay, 4 October 1963.

We......lost a good bit of our sovereignty by going with a beggar's bowl all over the world asking for charity which can never really be, morally speaking, without strings, even if the same is declared to be so.—*Organizer*, Delhi, 15 August 1963.

The Indian Government (has adopted a) doctrinaire approach to India's foreign policy which has taken the country away from the prevailing sentiments of most Afro-Asians—Rahul Singh in *Indian Express*, Bombay, 11 August 1963.

New Delhi, September 18: Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia, an Indian Socialist leader, yesterday castigated Mr. Nehru's foreign policy which, he said, had completely failed.

Speaking during the foreign policy debate, he said, the policy was a catalogue of failures in Suez, Hungary, Tibet and Algeria.

Dr. Lohia said that India, due to her arrogance, had ignored her neighbours, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Burma and Ceylon. India did not have any friend among her neighbouring countries in her dispute with China.

The Socialist leader said India's foreign policy based on fear and dependence, had nothing to lend support to the rising nations of the coloured people in Asia and Africa.

He said the Indian Foreign Ministry had been trying to build up an image of Mr. Nehru rather than an image of the Indian nation.—*Dawn*, Karachi, 19 September 1963.

......As it is, the Government of India's policy is not at all non-aligned. It has only resulted in alignment, though in two different directions. The entire country has been split into two sections, one aligned with the Atlantic Bloc and the other with the Soviets. We see these two contradictory alignments inside the Government, we see them outside in the people.—Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia in *Organizer*, Delhi, 25 February 1963.

The Mahatma stood all his life for non-violence, of course...... When we were surprised by the Chinese invasion, the government of India clean forgot Gandhiji and rushed troops to fight the intruder with orders to 'throw them out'. Thus the Gandhian technique was not only not tried, but was incontinently thrown over-board and its negation held up as the means of our saving our honour and redeeming lost territory......

The fact is that we have dethroned Mahatma Gandhi after ensuring for him a splendid *postmortem* existence......and so his name and memory are invoked as often as we find ourselves caught in the meshes of our contradictions and confusions. Beyond keeping the ruling party in power, it is difficult to determine what other enduring good is done to the country by this kind of double-think and double-talk.—*Organizer*, Delhi, 11 February 1963.

Now it is difficult to know in the context of today, what non-alignment really means. It was one thing before we were at actual

war, though undeclared, with China. It is today something quite different because the context has changed. Before Chinese aggression we could say that we were non-aligned, that is, we did not want to be involved in other peoples' quarrels, specially in the cold war between the Communist and the Western democratic blocs. We wanted to live in peace with all the nations of the world. Today we cannot say this because we are at war with Communist China. We are, therefore, a belligerent nation.—*Organizer*, Delhi, 25 February 1963.

CHAPTER III

FACTIONALISM IN THE CONGRESS

The map of Congress India has become a map torn by dissensions and smeared with big ugly black spots of corruption.—*Blitz*, Bombay, 15 August 1963.

" Factionalism has become a bane not only of the Congress but of the Government. The permutations and combinations which are periodically thrown up in the Congress legislature parties are actuated merely by personal jealousies and lust for power. Making and unmaking Ministers has become a favourite pastime of scheming Congressmen in most States with the result that the titular leader has constantly to look over his shoulders."—Editorial, *Indian Express*, Bombay, 2 October 1963.

Current popular discontent with the Government has more to do with corruption, delay, administrative inertia and failures of plan implementation than with an ideology.

The emergency continues but the Congress is still engaged in the usual, undignified in-fighting as between party factions up and down the country. Both as an administration and as a political machine the Congress is run down, tired, stale. It has not been able to provide the leadership the country requires to meet the challenge of defence and development. This is the real issue not ideology.—B.G.Verghese, " Drift to Disaster ", *Times of India*, Bombay, 27 June 1963.

Bickerings and group-fightings have riven the Congress organization in a number of States. Even Ministers of Cabinet have hurled charges against each other.—*Blitz*, Bombay, 27 July 1963.

Today the Congress is at sixes and sevens within itself and is no inspiring example to the rest of the country.—*Indian Express*, Bombay, 4 October 1963.

A sad spectacle does the once mighty Congress High Command present these days. The party is riven with ugly feuds in almost all the States; the air is thick with charges of corruption; the party's influence is being steadily eroded by the combined onslaught of the parties of the Right.—*Blitz*, Bombay, 10 August 1963.

The rifts, dissensions, group rivalries and mutual accusations and counter-accusations have become a notorious and permanent feature of the Congress organisation in almost every State......

After all, what is the spectacle of the organisation? A tottering edifice, whose very inmates are pulling it down not only by quarrelling among themselves but by indulging in corrupt and dishonest practices. The party is mostly what its State bosses have made it. To sustain their hold, they bribe, cajole or coerce their followers.—*Blitz*, Bombay, 15 August 1963.

Everyday, sometimes twice daily, we read of the most extraordinary developments in the cold war that is ravaging the States of Uttar Pradesh, the Punjab, Rajasthan, Orissa, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Gujrat, Andhra Pradesh and Kerala, presenting a disgusting portrait of the Government and party in power.

Added to this most unedifying spectacle is the manner in which some of our leaders seem to be making a mockery of their obligations towards a desperate and daily deepening crisis.—*Blitz*, Bombay, 10 August 1963.

New Delhi, August 5: The power of money, lack of democracy and justice, and the ever-widening gulf between Congressmen in

power and the rest are some of the reasons responsible for the present malaise afflicting the Congress Party, according to a note prepared by Mr. S. N. Mishra, M.P.......

In many places almost a kind of feudal relationship has come to exist between the " bosses " and workers. Consequently the party is not in any sense a brotherhood.

Urging the leadership to take urgent and determined steps to bridge the gulf which is " not only apparent but real ", the note says the " unedifying sight " of a ceaseless war amongst Congressmen for office bears testimony to this fact.—*Times of India,* Bombay, 6 August 1963.

"......The organisational wing of the Congress has become weak, primarily because of various other reasons including the indiscriminate enrolment of members, the wide prevalence of opportunism, and petty rivalries bursting into vicious factional fights. Of course the ministerial wing of the Congress also suffers from factionalism in a large number of States......"—Editorial, *Times of India,* Bombay, 9 August 1963.

"......The sorry in-fighting among Congressmen in U.P., Orissa, Kerala and the rest is disgraceful and disgusting while the bullying tactics adopted by the Congress in Punjab has fascist tendencies....."
—Editorial, *Times of India,* Bombay, 14 August 1963.

Today there is no such cadre policy, no study classes, no constructive work. Instead, there is place hunting, no loyalty to anything, least of all, any ideology. The Congress has become a jungle of feuding factional groups with group loyalties based on cast-prejudices.—*Blitz,* Bombay, 15 August 1963.

Caste, communal and feudal groups are at one another's throats, and all find in jobbery, corruption or maladministration, a spear-point of attack. In Kerala, the struggle is between Christian and Hindu, while in Mysore it is between Hindu and Hindu with Muslim as arbiter. Everywhere the fight is between the ' ins ' and ' outs ',

only it has now degenerated into a dog fight at every street corner.—*Organizer*, Delhi, 5 August 1963.

It is a shamefully edifying phenomenon that the Congress organisation in every State is not only split wide open due to cliquism and groupism, but that the air is thick with the awful stench of corruption.—*Blitz*, Bombay, 15 August 1963.

How can a party, which runs the Government in every State, justify its failure to settle interfactional quarrels and inter-State disputes even under the stress of the emergency? What excuse can the Government have for evading a judicial inquiry when charges of graft and shady deals are brought up against Ministers by responsible members of its own party?—Editorial, *Times of India*, Bombay, 24 August 1963.

(This is) an ugly and unedifying situation. At the least it appears that the Congress is a house divided against itself, at the worst it is a party infested with corrupt self-seekers who have wangled seats of power and are exploiting their political positions for their selfish vested interests.—*Blitz*, Bombay, 15 August 1963.

......The nation, instead of marching with its head held high, appears to be groping in order to find a way out from the slough of despondency which has overtaken it. The reverence and affection which the people had for the Congress and the all-India leaders have evaporated. It is all too evident that a considerable section of society is developing an allergy to the pomp and ostentation indulged in by some Congressmen. The greatest damage to the country has, however, been done by the internal factions within the Congress which have resulted in an unbecoming orgy of washing dirty linen in public with gay abandon. Yet another reason for the precipitous fall in the popularity of the Congress is the refusal in high circles to put down the scourge of corruption with ruthlessness.—Editorial, *Flame*, Delhi, 15 August 1963.

The malady is caused by the fact that ideologically the Congress is not a cohesive party. Socialism, the professed goal of the party, is interpreted in as many different ways as is possible.—*Blitz*, Bombay, 10 August 1963.

" All this suggests an ambivalence of direction which can be traced to the topmost levels of the party leadership. If Congressmen of the prominence of Mr. Patnaik and Dr. Mahatab are able to carry on a slagging match against each other, if the President of the Kerala Congress considers himself at liberty to press home corruption charges against the Chief Minister, if one Minister's hand is against another in the U.P. Cabinet and if the Andhra PCC can hurl defiance against the AICC, there is evidence of more than mere indiscipline. There is evidence of a lack of faith in the Congress as an organization. No one would think of rocking a boat if he was convinced that he would himself be drowned if it overturns."—*The Hindustan Times*, Delhi, 8 July 1963.

CHAPTER IV

CORRUPTION

Prime Minister Nehru said here today that there was need for setting up an "anti-corruption machinery" covering Ministers, public men and all those employed in the administration.

Addressing members of the AICC, he said that unless corruption was rooted out from every walk of life, all talk of socialism would be meaningless.—*The Indian Express*, Bombay, 4 November 1963.

Mr. S. K. Patil, former Union Minister, declared in Bombay that there was corruption in the Congress organization at the top and not in its rank and file.

He claimed that the seeds of corruption had been sown by "friends of Ministers".—*Times of India*, Bombay, 30 August 1963.

"......The more dangerous and positive aspect is the tendency for a Chief Minister to treat the State as his private *nawabi* and seek to establish his personal despotism in it, turning the entire governmental machinery to serve his behests and whims; where individuals, unbending officials and non-official critics alike, are intimidated and their life made miserable.

"The growing lack of respect for the law on the part of the people is bad enough; but what is even worse is that those in authority, like Ministers and high officials, should themselves betray such contempt and impatience for law......."—D. R. Mankekar, in *Indian Express*, Bombay, 23 October 1963.

The main difficulty, so far, has been that whenever and wherever the seed of corruption has sprouted, somebody in the high command has tended it. A sort of *quid pro quo*, (prevails) for, in an effort to get support, some central leaders have shielded Ministers whose integrity is not above board.—*Blitz*, Bombay, 31 August 1963.

Panjim: The Congress President, Mr. D. Sanjivayya, recently said at Indore that the Congress organisation had lost its prestige because Congressmen who were paupers before Independence had become millionaires.

In Goa, the Congress organisation had lost prestige because staunch supporters of the former Portuguese regime, smugglers, blackmarketers, big zamindars, mine owners, and anti-social elements had joined the Congress.

Now, the Congress President's Indore speech appears to have created a favourable situation in Goa for the Congress. A section of the middle classes and paupers who were against the Congress since its arrival in Goa now feel that they would be better off if they joined it. They know the value of money. They know that money is power. They say " Sabse Bada Rupiya".

Many poor young men who were unemployed were attracted towards the Congress and had filled in Congress entry forms to become millionaires.

The Goa Congress ranks are swelling. Those joining the Congress are poor but ambitious men. Will they become millionaires?...... —*Blitz*, Bombay, 24 August 1963.

" If anything, the present plight of India points to the folly of blindly accepting policies imposed as dogmas from above.

" For Ministers to preach austerity to the people while practising very little of it themselves and to talk in virtuous indignation of taxdodging capitalists and profiteers while many of their own near relatives, according to the Congress President himself, have waxed wealthy since their fathers and uncles assumed office, is nothing but hypocritical cant. Equally unimpressive is the spectacle of Ministers' grandsons being sent abroad for higher education not

only to colleges but schools while the children of less privileged people who have saved over the years to enable their children to receive similar education are denied the same opportunity on the plea of saving the country's foreign exchange."—Frank Moraes in *Indian Express*, Bombay, 5 August 1963.

This is what the Congress President, Mr. D. Sanjivayya, publicly stated the other day at Indore. He said that Congress had lost its prestige because " Congressmen who were paupers before Independence have become millionaires. Some own several cinema houses, huge property, a fleet of cars and many transport lines".

He could have added the directorships of companies, shareholdings in big industrial enterprises, ownership of mills and factories and airlines, not to mention newspapers, which Congress Ministers, their sons and close relations starting from scratch, have acquired since 1947......

Is it any surprise that they are extremely reluctant to submit their financial assets to a close scrutiny? The Congress President admitted that only a very few Congress MLAs, MPs and Ministers had sent in their annual returns giving the details of property owned or acquired.—*Blitz*, Bombay, 15 August 1963.

......Corruption has become so entwined with the Congress that to kill the one is to kill the other. And the Congress, in its messianic belief that it alone could save the country, considers it its ' patriotic duty ' to perpetuate itself—with all its corruptions—in the ' greater interest of the country '. One can hardly argue with messiahs. Messiah Nehru thinks that he can do no wrong, and that whoever does not agree with him must be dull, if not perverse and " anti-national....".....

There is a universal cry of corruption here, there and everywhere. It has become so widespread that people talk about it quite casually, taking it for granted and regarding it as a part of the scheme of things. Nobody seems to be ashamed of referring to the payment of bribes, utilizing of the black-market or evasion of taxes for instance;

and our moral nature seems to have gone so low that we actually admire those who are able to violate the law and hoodwink those in-charge of administering the same.........—*Organizer*, Delhi, 15 August 1963.

The organisation which was to usher in Socialism has not only failed to do so, but it has fathered a new class of white-capped self-seekers who have betrayed the most precious principles of the national movement to feather their own nests......—*Blitz*, Bombay, 15 August 1963.

According to an evaluation made in the Auditor-General's office, the total financial liability Ministers inflict on tax-payers in the form of salary-*cum*-facilities, comes to over Rs. 8,000 per month for each Minister. On paper, however, a Minister draws only a modest Rs. 2,250 per mensem......—*Organizer*, Delhi, 15 August 1963.

According to Shaikh Abdullah, the chief accused, in the Kashmir conspiracy case, the Government of India has already spent Rs. 3.4 crores on the case. While this seems to be an exaggeration, the true figure would probably be almost Rs. 2 crores. The prosecution lawyers fees alone have amounted to well over Rs. 1 crore.

Shri G. S. Pathak, M.P. (Congress) and Supreme Court lawyer, draws an annual retainer of Rs. 50,000 *plus* Rs. 1,700 for every day he attends. Since May 1959 when the case was instituted, he is believed to have drawn something like 25 lakhs.

Shri J. P. Mitter of Calcutta High Court was engaged on Rs. 1 lakh a month. During the twelve months he was connected with the case he must have drawn something like Rs. 12 lakhs.

Shri Nageshwari Prasad of Patna High Court worked for 3 years and 8 months on a monthly fee of Rs. 30,000 only. He drew something like Rs. 13 lakhs. He withdrew from the case because of certain differences with other counsel and with prosecution officials.

In April 1961, Shri N. S. Pandy was put in charge as Senior Prosecution Counsel. He was drawing Rs. 790 per day, and a total of over Rs. 5 lakhs till June this year. On the 29th of that month he withdrew from the case with a slap in the face of the Government.

He alleged that the case was being deliberately delayed—only 24 of the 266 prosecution witnesses having been examined in these five years.

The new Chief Prosecution Counsel, Har Parsad, was drawing Rs. 800 per day even before he became the chief counsel.

Shri Chaturvedi of Allahabad High Court was paid Rs. 40,000 for the couple of weeks that he put in here.

It has not been possible to find out how much was drawn by Shri R. B. Bipin Lall of the Supreme Court of India.

In addition there are at any given time eight to ten second rank lawyers assisting the prosecution. They drew anything from Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 8,000 per month.

The total of these fees and other amenities of dozen odd prosecution counsels is believed to be something like Rs. 1,25,00,000. No wonder the Kashmir Conspiracy Case has come to be regarded "a gold mine" by many lawyers. According to uncontradicted reports a sum of Rs. 20,000 only, is being spent on the case by the Government every day.—*Organizer*, Delhi, 5 August 1963.

The Union Ministry of Steel and Heavy Industries has disclosed that steel of scarcer varieties supplied for the manufacture of improved implements for agriculture found its way to the black market instead of its being utilized for the manufacture of implements...... He (also) estimated that 50 per cent of the tractors supplied to farmers were in disrepair and, therefore, idle......

Both corruption and inefficiency have bedevilled the progress of agriculture.—*Blitz*, Bombay, 26 July 1963.

Surendra Nath Dwivedy, M.P. (has) said: " One problem, out of many that have shown stubbornness of solution in our country, is corruption. It has corroded every sphere of our national life and

encrusted each section of the administration. No country can ever dream of development without a clean and efficient administration; socialism in such circumstances will remain a far cry."—*Current*, Bombay, 8 June 1963.

Like a malignant tumor, corruption seems to gain new life and new dimensions with every measure that is taken up to wipe it off. In the wake of rising prices, the Capital woke up to the large-scale adulteration of foodstuffs, spices and condiments.

Cases of marble powder in salt, and the mixing of harmful chemicals in chilly-powder and turmeric, etc., were daily being reported.—*Blitz*, Bombay, 6 July 1963.

The Government has been exposed to so much criticism in the last few weeks that it has developed a certain immunity. But even so it cannot but feel embarrassed when the charge of widespread corruption in the administration is made by those who are themselves part of the establishment. (Significant in this respect are Mr. Shriman Narayan's remarks at a seminar on " Problems of Corruption " organised by the Bihar Branch of the Bharat Sevak Samaj.)

" Ironically enough, while as many as 44,000 Government servants were punished on charges of corruption, bribery, misappropriation of funds and similar offences during the last five years, not a single Minister was brought to book. Is the public to assume that the integrity of all those, who have been at the top of the administration during this period, is above board? Or is it to conclude that the current standards in judging the conduct of the men at the top of the ladder are far more lax than those applicable to those at the bottom rungs? "—*Times of India*, Bombay, 20 August 1963.

Srinagar: A dozen of Kashmir's well-known business concerns are alleged to have minted crores of rupees by selling in the black-market the dollar travelling cheques received by them from foreign tourists.

These Kashmir money-spinners continued their nefarious trade in travelling cheques for the last 10 years—thanks to the indifference of the Union Finance Ministry.—*Blitz*, Bombay, 6 July 1963.

Mr. Deo accused those " at the helm of affairs in Orissa " of " exploiting State resources for their own ends". They had corrupted public life in Orissa and were responsible for purchasing M.L.As. " to create an artificial majority in 1957".

Mr. Deo accused the Prime Minister of " throwing his mantle of protection " on persons who encouraged corruption.—*Times of India*, Delhi, 23 August 1963.

Dr. Lohia (Socialist Leader) said, the appointment of Gen. R. N. Kaul as the field commander in NEFA was nothing but nepotism.

Another example of nepotism, he said, was that the father " becomes the Prime Minister and the daughter tries to be the boss of the people".

Dr. Lohia said: " It is because business and politics in this country are linked together that there is such widespread corruption. One member of the family becomes a Minister and the other a businessman and they help each other."

Dr. Lohia accused Mr. Nehru of casteism and of giving patronage to his family-members. Ability and opportunity in the country today, he said, were the prerogatives of a few. " The father becomes the master of the Government and the daughter of the people."—*Times of India*, Bombay, 22 August 1963.

Mr. Prakash Vir Shastri said that it was strange that even after the Das Enquiry and the NEFA probe, the Prime Minister should claim that corruption was only at the lower levels. It was also strange that even after Mr. Justice Das had found Mr. Malaviya guilty on two points, Mr. Nehru should continue to say that he did not consider him guilty.

The administration in a number of States had gone to the dogs. Various charges of corruption had been made against Chief Ministers

and Ministers, including Mr. Kairon. Allegations had been made against Mr. B. Patnaik of Orissa that he gave money to the PSP to fight some Congress candidates. In U.P. a large number of Ministers had resigned but the matter was still pending.—*Times of India*, Bombay, 21 August 1963.

Acharya Kripalani said it was admitted sometime ago that there was corruption at the lower levels of administration, " but today he will be a bold man who will say that there is no corruption in the higher ranks. There is corruption in the political field and we have seen Ministers and *ex*-Ministers accusing each other of getting money from doubtful quarters for doubtful purposes. The President of the Congress recently said that in his party paupers had become millionaires.—*Times of India*, Bombay, 20 August 1963.

Mr. M. R. Masani (Swatantra) said that there was widespread dissatisfaction in the country today. " The feeling is one of exasperation. People feel that they have reached the limit of their endurance."

He expressed the view that it was " maladministration and corruption " which had caused this state of affairs.—*Times of India*, Bombay, 20 August 1963.

Public meetings were held in different parts of the Punjab yesterday in observance of " Anti-Corruption Day ", organized by the United Front of non-Communist Opposition Parties.—*Times of India*, Bombay, 12 November 1963.

At a Punjab political rally recently, it was pointed out that criminal elements were getting into seats of power in an important political party. A former High Court Judge had also warned sometime ago that enforcement of law and order was becoming difficult because of growing association between criminal and political parties. Arrest of M.L.As. in several States, and charges of corruption against Ministers and other politicians have become common these days.—*Flame*, Delhi, 6 July 1963.

It is actually clear that while the burden on the toiling people and the unhappy middle-class is reaching crushing proportions, a handful of rich men continues to fatten and the laws do not seem to affect them.—*Blitz*, Bombay, 27 July 1963.

Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia, Socialist leader, told newsmen that the Prime Minister's definition of corruption was wrong. He said: " If the Prime Minister took an impersonal view of corruption he would find that our strong national sense for family and caste had a great deal to do with this and the erosion of the rule of law. There was a national tendency for all big men to trust their own family and caste members."

Lawlessness was definitely on the increase in the country " if dacoits are a test", he said.—*Indian Express*, Bombay, 12 October 1963.

......Despite all the reiterations, profit-making in India goes apace, the rich continues to grow richer, and the vast masses of people continue to groan and starve.—*Blitz*, Bombay, 27 July 1963.

" It does not need Ministers or *ex*-Ministers to tell the people that the Congress is out of touch with the masses. That much of the energy of its members is spent in hanging garlands—literally or metaphorically—round each other's necks when one is not engaged in denigrating the other, and that the placing of self before service has led to the present pass.

Nehru's India is far different from the India of Gandhiji. And very largely Nehru has made it so.—Frank Moraes in *The Indian Express*, Bombay, 7 October 1963.

Mr. Bool Chand has expressed great concern over the need to end corruption in India. He says Congress Administration today is highly unpopular in the country. " There is corruption, real and imagined, at all levels."—Bool Chand in *Indian Express*, Bombay, 29 September 1963.

The root cause of such a crop of scandals is the unsocialistic behaviour and practice of a section of the ruling class. The section is all the time fattening on rich monopolies and shady businessmen, while the people are being fleeced in the name of defence and development.—*Blitz*, Bombay, 15 August 1963.

New Delhi, August 8: Non-Communist Opposition leaders at a Press conference here today charged the Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, with "shielding corrupt and *anti*-national elements" who were impairing the defence efforts during the emergency.

In a joint statement the Opposition leaders demanded stern action against corrupt elements both at the Centre and in the States.

A crowded Press conference was addressed by leaders, including Master Tara Singh, Mr. Raj Narain Singh; Mr. Devi Lal, a former leader of the Opposition in the Punjab Vidhan Sabha; Mr. Jagat Narain, a former Punjab Education Minister; Mr. Abdul Ghani Dar, M.P., and Mr. Balraj Madhok (Jan Sangh).

The statement said that to ventilate the people's grievances the leaders had decided to stage a peaceful demonstration before Parliament on August 14.—*Times of India*, Bombay, 9 August 1963.

New Delhi, August 21: ......Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia (speaking during the no-confidence debate in the Lok Sabha) accused Mr. Nehru of casteism and of giving patronage to his family members. Ability and opportunity in the country today, he said, were the prerogatives of a few. "The father becomes the master of the Government and the daughter of the people."

Dr. Lohia said: "I will not give names except that of one General who had never seen war was placed in charge of the operations in NEFA."—*Times of India*, Bombay, 22 August 1963.

New Delhi, March 28: Rules concerning disclosure of assets by Government servants should be applied to Ministers also, as they were "the fountainhead of all this", Mr. H. V. Kamath (PSP)

CHAPTER V

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

Famine stalks the land again. Though Bengal of 1943 may not be repeated, things are serious enough to make a mockery of a decade-and-more of Planning for self-sufficiency.

At least two States have reported acute suffering from drought and scarcity of essential foodgrains.—*Blitz*, Bombay, 10 August 1963.

Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia, Socialist leader, has said, five lakhs of " starvation deaths " and 40 lakhs of " premature deaths " took place every year in India.

He asserted that 27 crores of people earned less than three annas each a day. Any amount of jugglery of Union Home Minister Nanda and his ilk could not alter that basic fact.—*Indian Express*, Bombay, 5 October 1963.

Nearly 600 out of 676 villages of Bikaner District are in the grip of acute famine, according to Mr. Himsain, President of the Bikaner District Congress Committee.—*Indian Express*, Bombay, 17 October 1963.

A sum of Rs. 2,000 crores has been spent over the last 11 years to import American wheat. If a fraction of that amount had been spent on storage facilities to prevent grain loss to rats, etc.,

we could very well wipe out our 3% food shortage!—*Organizer*, Delhi, 15 August 1963.

Dr. R. M. Lohia (M.P.) said that there were 17 to 18 crore acres of land in the country lying barren. But the Government had not taken necessary measures to bring it under the plough.

Dr. Lohia said: " When this is the condition of our agriculture, and so much land is lying unused, the Prime Minister comes forward and suggests to the people that they should grow food in flower-pots and on the terraces of their houses."—*Times of India*, Bombay, 24 August 1963.

Prof. Mukerjee has said that the Government had so far spent Rs. 2,000 crores on irrigation and the results had not been considerable. In fact the results had been disastrous. Even the optimistic Food and Agriculture Minister had to admit that his policies had substantially failed.—*Times of India*, Bombay, 20 August 1963.

Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia, M.P., reiterated his earlier stand that a majority of agricultural labourers, Adivasis, artisans and others earned a daily income of three annas.

In a rejoinder to the statement of the Planning Minister, Mr. G. L. Nanda, in the Lok Sabha, Dr. Lohia said: " The Planning Minister has evidently been telling untruths."—*Times of India*, Delhi, 28 August 1963.

Mr. Acharya Kripalani said the Government was thinking that the nation was making rapid progress, but the people feel depressed. In regard to food there was deficiency, while there was no such deficiency in the neighbouring countries.

Turning to the agricultural sector, Mr. Kripalani said Agriculture had become stagnant and results achieved in food production were negligible in spite of a great deal of money spent on costly dams.—*Times of India*, Bombay, 20 August 1963.

Dr. R. M. Lohia said the masses in the country were suffering while a few chosen ones enjoyed the fruits of the labour of millions. " There are crores of people who live on mere three annas a day while the Prime Minister's dog costs Rs. 3 a day. "

He said even according to a member of the Planning Commission, about 27,00,00,000 people in this country lived on three annas a day. A field labourer earned 12 annas a day and a skilled industrial worker Rs. 2 a day while the income of the biggest businessman in the country was Rs. three lakhs a day. The expenditure on the highest man in the Government (apparently he referred to Mr. Nehru) was about Rs. 25,000 to Rs. 30,000 a day.

Talking of economic policy, Dr. Lohia said the Indian economy had been caught in the vicious web of stagnation. " For 15 years, it is in a moribund state. We cannot be woken up unless there is real internal revolution."—*Times of India,* Bombay, 22 August 1963.

Police used tear gas and made *lathi* charges to disperse a crowd in front of a rice godown in Sowa Bazar area in North Calcutta tonight.

The crowd forced their way into the godown and man-handled the godown keeper and his men. They also hurled stones, brickbats and sodawater bottles at the police, causing injuries to half a dozen policemen, the police said.

The crowd, it was stated, surrounded the godown and demanded sale of rice at Rs. 22 per maund as against Rs. 35 per maund, agreed to between the Chief Minister of West Bengal and the State Rice Merchants' Association earlier.—*Indian Express,* Bomay, 17 October 1963.

"After 13 years of planned economy and some $ 5 billion worth of United States assistance, 60 per cent of India's 440 million still earn between 1/4 and 1/2 rupee a day per person......

"A vast majority of the Indian population still lies at a level

which is virtually inseparable from starvation."—Sharakh Sabavala in *Christian Science Monitor*, 24 October 1963.

"Dr. Lohia seems to have been let down by those who told him that two out of every three persons in the country do not earn more than three annas a day. It will be more correct to say that at least one person out of ten in the rural areas earns only a little more than three annas a day. The latest figures show that the daily income of the very poor in the rural areas comes to about four annas. They cannot even be called poor. They are waifs who call it a lucky day if they can cadge a meal of two *rotis* of *jowar* or *bajra*. The down-and-outs in the town are only a little better off and earn no more than five annas a day. It is obvious that 10 years of planning has brought little cheer into the lives of these people. How could it when the average income during the first two Plans has risen by only 16 per cent?

"A person who earns four annas a day is not likely to feel on his face the wind of change that blows around him if in 10 years his daily income goes up by four naye paise. The sad part of it is that there is no magical way of putting an end to such stark poverty......"—Editorial, *Times of India*, Bombay, 26 August 1963.

Nearly 3,700,000 acres of irrigation potential remained unutilised at the end of the second year of the current Plan, 1962-63, because of lack of co-ordination among project authorities, State Government officials and farmers.—*Flame*, Delhi, 15 August 1963.

Acharya Kripalani has said that in spite of three Plans, the condition of the people continued to be bad. A former President of the Congress, Mr. Dhebar, and also the Prime Minister had said that the poor were becoming poorer and the rich richer. "Therefore, there must be something radically wrong with our Plans. I submit that the Plans are defectively drawn up and more defectively executed.".

" In the meantime, the rise in prices has gone forward so much. During the financial year 1962-63 the wholesale price index of rice went up by about 7.8 per cent, while in the short period of three months—March to June 1963—the rise has been of the order of 12.5 per cent......."—*New Age*, Delhi, 25 August 1963.

Dr. Lohia said that during the past few years, the economic condition of the people had deteriorated due to abnormal rise in the prices of essential commodities. While on the one hand the Government had failed to check it, on the other it had imposed heavy taxes.—*Indian Express*, Bombay, 24 Setember 1963.

Nearly 1,000 farmers and workers from various parts of Jabalpur District demonstrated in front of the Collector's office here today to protest against the rising prices and the taxation policy of the Government.—*Times of India*, Bombay, 2 October 1963.

......We have been face to face with high prices, higher taxation and an insensate desire for the so-called raising the standards of living by regarding mere superfluities as very desirable necessities. We have been given a series of laws which have gone against the traditions of centuries, and some of which are even against the dictates of human nature. The result has been that they are followed more in the breach than in the observance.—*Organizer*, Delhi, 15 August 1963.

Commenting on the economic situation of the country Dr. Lohia said that the sale price of essential articles consisted of 40 per cent cost, 30 per cent taxes, 20 per cent profit, 10 per cent water, and the " two robbers " of the Indian economy were the Government and the companies.—*Tribune*, Ambala, 14 July 1963.

A recent unofficial survey proved that the cost of living had gone up by 15 to 40 per cent in just about a year. The cost of living index,

too, which has been publicly described a fraud, also showed a rise.—*Blitz*, Bombay, 15 August 1963.

Mr. A. K. Gopalan, leader of the Communist Group, said that seven business houses controlled a large sector of industrial activity.

He said that though the Government repeatedly pledged itself to hold the price line, there had been continuous rise in the prices of essential commodities.

He said: "A Minister who gives us only statistics and no rice has no right to stay in the Government."

Mr. Gopalan accused the Finance Ministry of revelling in public misery. Never before had any governmental dispensation brought so much misery to lakhs of people as the Gold Control Order.—*Times of India*, Bombay, 21 August 1963.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, founder of the Swatantra Party, today strongly opposed the new Central taxation proposals and said people would find it "extremely difficult" to bear the heavy burden imposed on them.

Addressing the Coimbatore district conference of the Swatantra Party, he said the "strong dose of taxation" proposed by Mr. Morarji Desai, would adversely affect the poorer sections of the people.

He regretted that the Indian Constitution had failed to impose a ceiling on taxation. This was a "big mistake" and people were put to great sufferings on account of this "lapse" he said.

Referring to the compulsory savings scheme, he said it would have been much better if the Government had nationalized the banking industry.

On the Gold Control Order, Mr. Rajagopalachari said no Minister, however high a position he might hold, had a right to change the customs prevailing in the country. He asked the people to "resist strongly" the attempts to change the existing cultural patterns.

Earlier Mr. M. R. Masani, General Secretary, described the budget as an " oppressive " one.—*The Hindustan Times*, Delhi, 4 March 1963.

Personal taxation in India today is the highest in the world. Even before the new Budget proposals were adopted this year, the tax, payable by a married individual with two children in the brackets of Rs. 40,000 and above, was the highest in the world. The present position, therefore, is much worse.—*Flame*, Delhi, 15 August 1963.

About 10 million people have signed the Communist-sponsored petition to be presented to Parliament.

The petition demands a reduction in taxes, lowering of prices, withdrawal of the Compulsory Deposit Scheme and nationalisation of "strategic lines of the economy".

Mr. Dange (the Communist leader) said: " If the signatures are any indication then the depth of peoples' discontent and resentment should be considered to be double of what we had expected.—*Indian Express*, Bombay, 13 September 1963.

" The recent imposition of unbearable taxation burdens brought popular discontent to a head. And fuel was added to the fire when a frustrated people watched with increasing impatience the corruption, inefficiency and ineffectiveness prevailing in the Government, which seems to be trying to get away with it by talking fast and loud."—*Indian Express*, Bombay, 24 August 1963.

Mr. M. R. Masani accused the Government of failing to realise the objectives it had set before itself and said: " The small peasant has not been able to improve his lot. The Union Labour Minister, Mr. G. L. Nanda, has himself conceded the point that there has been no real rise in the standard of living of the worker. The middle class is crushed between the rising prices on the one hand and the mounting taxes on the other."

Mr. Masani said there was a deterioration in the employment situation. " Instead of creating employment this Government is creating unemployment."

He described the Gold Control Order as " a meaningless and perverse measure " and said that it had created a new class of proletariates.—*Times of India*, Bombay, 20 August 1963.

Inefficiency has continued even in the present emergency. In many strategic industries like iron and steel, fertilisers, heavy castings, etc., production fell behind targets and created shortages which have affected the growth of other related industries. Transport capacity was inadequate and generation of power below the requirements. These shortages persisted and even magnified in the first 20 months of the current Third Plan. Many of these shortages would have been avoided if there had been wise and purposeful regulation of Governmental expenditure. This white elephant is fast growing.—*Organizer*, Delhi, 25 February 1963.

One hundred and sixty goldsmiths killed themselves, three key Congressmen were trounced in the recent by-elections, and respect for the law was dealt one more blow by Finance Minister Morarji Desai's Gold Control Order.

Brainchild of a bigot and hypocrite, the Order prohibited the common man from making even a " mangalsutra " of gold to solemnise a marriage, but allowed profiteers and hoarders a free hand to stockpile the precious metal......

Clandestine trade in 22-carat gold still continues in another form. Bogus entries record the receipt of old ornaments for repairs, which, in actual fact, is a cover for smuggled gold.—*Blitz*, Bombay, 27 July 1963.

Prof. Mukerjee charged the Finance Minister with being callous to the sufferings of the unemployed goldsmiths and also in giving replies to questions relating to goldsmiths, and to the suicides committed by goldsmiths.

Instead of stopping tax evasion and mobilising the hoarded gold and black money, the Finance Minister was collecting compulsory deposits from people who could not meet both ends.

Instead of nationalising foreign oil companies, banks and the export and import trade, the Finance Minister was levying crushing taxes on low income groups.—*Times of India*, Bombay, 20 August 1963.

Mr. Patel (Mr. Bhailal Patel) said that the Gold Control Order and the Compulsory Deposit Scheme had made the Congress Governments at the Centre and in the States unpopular.

He criticised *panchayati raj*. It was not meant to serve the people, but to make the position of Congressmen secure, he alleged.—*Indian Express*, Bombay, 13 September 1963.

Mr. U. M. Trivedi strongly criticising the Gold Control Rule and the Compulsory Deposit Scheme, said that these two had roused the feelings of the people against the Government. Far from stopping gold smuggling, the rules had done the greatest damage to the country.—*Times of India*, Bombay, 21 August 1963.

The Gold Control Rules are not only in contravention of the normal Fundamental Rights of the citizens as contained in Article 19 of the Constitution, which lays down that all citizens shall have the right to acquire, hold and dispose of property and to carry on any occupation, trade or business but also violate some of the most important Directive Principles of State Policy as enacted in the Constitution......

The Gold Control Rules, which have caused widespread unemployment and have deprived vast numbers of citizens of their means of livelihood and have inflicted on them undeserved want, violate the clear injunctions laid down on the State under Articles 39 and 41 (of the Constitution).

Instead of seeing that the citizens have the right to an adequate means of livelihood, the Government by its gold policy has done

exactly the reverse. The Government may take all appropriate measures to stop gold smuggling but it should not enact regulations which deprive lakhs of citizens of their means of livelihood.

Government spokesmen also declare that the gold policy is intended to bring in social reforms. Actually, the policy, instead of ushering in any social reforms, will create numerous social problems. The sudden large-scale unemployment among goldsmiths and dealers may aggravate the existing problems of vagrancy, begging, juvenile delinquency, bootlegging and other anti-social activities.—Phiroze J. Shroff in *The Hindustan Times*, Delhi, 4 March 1963.

Another eminent public leader who has sharply criticised the Government's gold policy is Shri Sri Prakash, former Governor, Madras State.

In a Republic Day article published by the *Indian Express* the U.P. leader has demanded that the Government take the public "into confidence", and disclose what it proposed to do with the gold collected.

He observed: "If it is to lie fallow in the vaults of banks and treasuries, it seems that it can fight the war from there as well as it could have done from the necks and hands of our women-folk."—*Organizer*, Delhi, 11 February 1963.

The increasing burden of taxation, unemployment among the educated youth, the growth of monopoly among the capitalists, the progressive impoverishment of the middle classes, have all created conditions ripe for a revolution. The promised socialistic pattern of society seems to be receding into the background. It may elude our grasp like the proverbial will o' the wasp.—*Blitz*, Bombay, 20 July 1963.

CHAPTER VI

NEHRU GOVERNMENT'S UNPOPULARITY

New Delhi, August 13: Soon after the Lok Sabha met today for its monsoon session, Acharya Kripalani, supported by more than 70 members, obtained leave of the House to move a no-confidence motion against the Government. The motion—the first since Independence—will be debated next week......

Seventy two members rose in their seats. There was loud cheering from the Opposition benches as the count taken by the Speaker reached 51. Never before in the history of the Lok Sabha had any no-confidence motion received this minimum support.—*Times of India*, Bombay, 14 August 1963.

New Delhi, August 19: As the Lok Sabha today began a three-day debate on the motion of no-confidence moved by Mr. J. B. Kripalani, the Opposition made a formidable indictment of the Nehru Government's grievous failure on all fronts from agricultural production to defence preparedness......

This is the first-ever no-confidence motion to be debated in Parliament......

Acharya Kripalani accused the Ministry of pushing the people into a "slough of economic depression" and weakening their morale......

He said: " Do not suppose that I stand here only to represent the 73 members of the House (who are supporting the motion). The strength of votes with me is greater than that with the Congress.

The Congress, he said, had polled only 45.27 per cent of the total votes in the general election, while the Opposition parties had together polled 54.76 per cent......"

Prof. Mukerjee said that the Government had so far spent Rs. 2,000 crores on irrigation and the results had not been considerable. In fact the results had been disastrous......

Mr. M. R. Masani (Swatantra) said that there was widespread dissatisfaction in the country today. " The feeling is one of exasperation. People feel that they have reached the limit of their endurance. " He expressed the view that it was " maladministration and corruption " which had caused this state of affairs......The small peasant has not been able to improve his lot......The middle class is crushed between the rising prices on the one hand and the mounting taxes on the other ", he said......

Mr. Masani asked the Congressmen themselves to replace the present Government by a clean and decent Government.—*Times of India*, Bombay, 20 August 1963.

New Delhi, August 13: Opposition parties led by Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, Acharya Kripalani and Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia made a concerted demand for the resignation of the Nehru Government at a public meeting here today......

Acharya Kripalani said the Congress had failed to deliver the goods. Prices were going up. So were the Government expenditure and taxation. People were groaning under this crushing burden......

The Swatantra leader said the Congress Government must go because it had failed to provide a good administration.—*Times of India*, Bombay, 14 August 1963.

Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia, Socialist leader, in a hard-hitting speech told the Lok Sabha that the Government headed by Mr. Nehru had lost the confidence of the nation and it must resign " here and now " and face the electorate again.

Dr. Lohia declared: " I maintain that this is a Government of national shame; it has forefeited the confidence of the masses. It has the support of only shameless supporters of the Congress.

" It does not have even the full support of the Congress Party. Never before the country has been divided so much as it is today. The people are divided, the heart of the nation is divided. The ruling party is divided. The Ministers are divided among themselves. If the nation has to be saved, this Government must go ".—*Times of India*, Delhi, 22 August 1963.

A no-confidence motion will be moved against the State Government during the five-week session of the Maharashtra Assembly opening in Bombay on September 2.

Members of the Swatantra and Praja Socialist Parties in the Gujerat Legislative Assembly would move a motion of no-confidence in the State Government at the coming session.

The Speaker, Mr. M. M. Chowdhry, today admitted in the Assam Assembly, a no-confidence motion against the Government sponsored by 11 opposition members.

Eighteen opposition members, including those of the Hills group have given their support to the motion.

Five motions of no-confidence tabled by non-Communist opposition parties were admitted today when the Rajasthan Legislative Assembly began its monsoon session here.—*Times of India*, Bombay, 20 August 1963.

Disorderly scenes and fiery wordy duals marked the proceedings of the West Bengal Assembly today.

Opposition members often shouted slogans like " Down with the Congress Government " and *Inquilab Zindabad*.

At one stage the situation went so much out of control that the Speaker had to leave the House adjourning it for 30 minutes.—*Indian Express*, Bombay, 18 September 1963.

Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia, Socialist leader, yesterday called

upon the people to forge a united front to " overthrow " the Congress Government. He said that the present Government had failed to ameliorate the conditions of the 44 crores of people in this country during the last 16 years.—*Indian Express*, Bombay, 24 September 1963.

" The deepening political crisis constitutes the real emergency that the country faces today. The Government, still content to drift along, has lost the will to lead and it is this extraordinary paralysis of leadership more than the state of readiness of our armed forces, the fuzziness of our diplomacy, the continuing debility of the administration and the lack of acceleration in the economy that is the country's weakest defence. All other failures stem from this single outstanding fact."—*Times of India*, Bombay, 20 June 1963.

Congress has been shaken by recent defeats in parliamentary elections. They never considered, because they had neither the will nor the leisure to consider, what was the real reaction of the people to the way in which they conducted the affairs of the country.

They blamed the critics for the complaints voiced by the people. Otherwise, the Congress leaders contended, the people were happy and would not bother the Government. The defeats in elections have jolted them.—*Blitz*, Bombay, 15 August 1963.

Jullunder, August 5: Speaking at a public meeting in Phagwara, 14 miles from here, yesterday Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia said Mr. Nehru......professed the Gandhian ideology but did not practise it. Mahatma Gandhi led an austere life but Mr. Nehru, he alleged, lived in luxury, while there was appalling poverty in the country.—*Statesman*, New Delhi, 7 August 1963.

Yet you call this a Welfare State. Big business tycoons are battening on the misery of the middle class people who have been ground to atoms by the Compulsory Deposit Scheme and other

taxation measures. Education is not within the reach of the average bread-earner. Morarji's Gold Control Order has ruined thousands of goldsmiths.

Is our cup of misery not full to the brim to merit this Welfare State being called an Ill-Fare State?—*Blitz*, 14 August 1963.

Yesterday, speaking at a public meeting of Phulpur, in Mr. Nehru's constituency, Dr. Lohia reiterated his demand that Prime Minister Nehru should resign his seat in the Lok Sabha and seek re-election.

He said that during the recent Farrukhabad and Amroha parliamentary by-elections the Prime Minister had stated that these by-elections were a test of his policies, both internal and external.

The by-elections, Dr. Lohia said, had shown that the electorates of both the constituencies had rejected these policies and voted against the Congress candidates. It was therefore, in the fitness of things that Prime Minister Nehru should resign his seat in the Lok Sabha and seek re-election.—*Tribune*, Ambala, 14 July 1963.

Congress needs to be taught lessons in the only language they understand, which is defeat at the hustings......

We have reached a stage when every defeat of the Congress at the hustings must be welcomed by every lover of democracy or of honesty......

To open the eyes of Congress bosses is the one need of the hour, a positive desideratum.—*Blitz*, Bombay, 6 July 1963.

CHAPTER VII

EDUCATION

......Our universities have become as corrupt and inefficient as our Government, as there is a close liaison between the two in the interests of unacademic log-rolling. It is curious that the rulers who have shown a passion for amending a variety of acts for a variety of reasons should have been so obstinate as to preserve the reactionary, bureaucratic and anti-national sanctions implicit in almost all the university administrations in the country.—*Organizer*, Delhi, 5 August 1963.

Another notable feature (of Indian educational system is) that, while the South was fairly ahead in matters of education, the North was backward and was proving a drag to the progress of the country in many respects, including the progress of education. Vast tracts, in States like Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan, peopled by the Adivasis, were still ill-served, so far as educational facilities were concerned.—*Current*, Bombay, 23 March 1963.

The main problem of education in India has been that even the money that is being spent on it, has not yielded the results expected. The number of dropouts from the primary schools, long before they could complete even the first four forms, is too big and a large number of children who do so, soon fall back into illiteracy and

help swell the numbers of the unlettered.—*Current*, Bombay, 23 March 1963.

A departmental head of Lucknow University is facing a charge of having extorted bribes for years from a lecturer in his department to enable him to retain his post.

The unwritten agreement between him and the departmental head was to the effect that he would continue paying the latter throughout the two-year period of probation.

During the latter part of the probationary period, he had stopped payment of what the departmental head claimed to be his legitimate dues, largely because he felt he should not make payments which were clearly illegal.

The result was that the departmental head had recommended his non-confirmation, even though his service record during the probationary period fully justified his staying on in the post that he held.

The Executive Council of the University has asked the departmental head to explain, why he recommended the non-confirmation of the lecturer—whose confirmation he had himself recommended earlier—and has asked the inquiry committee to go ahead with its probe.—*Current*, Bombay, 13 July 1963.

CHAPTER VIII

MINORITIES

New Delhi, June 7: Syed Badrudduja (PSP—West Bengal) speaking in the Lok Sabha, complained that Muslims had no security in the country. He attributed the recent communal disturbances in Agra, Bhopal and Malda to the "indifferent and complacent attitude" of the administration......He said that the rape of a Muslim girl was responsible for the disturbances in Malda......

In a speech loaded with emotion, Mr. Badrudduja said Muslims were friendless in India in their hour of need and the few who had reached places of importance in the administration were being persecuted for their association with the Jamiat-e-Islam, which was a purely religious and cultural organisation.—*The Statesman*, Delhi, 8 June 1962.

Details of *anti*-Muslim and *anti*-Pakistan processions taken out by the Jan Sangh and the Hindu Mahasabha are contained in December newspapers.

In Kamatipura suburb of Bombay, the Jan Sangh took out a big procession soon after the conquest of Goa. The Hindu processionists pelted stones at the shops and houses of Muslims. Some of them threw soda water bottles at Muslims. The sudden outbursts of violence by the Jan Sanghis caused panic among Muslims who locked themselves in their shops and houses.

What was more tragic was the fact that the police remained a passive spectator as the Jan Sanghis went on attacking Muslims and looting their property. To cap this, the Police rounded up 300 Muslims who did not retaliate in any way against the aggressive and violent Hindu fanatics.

Resenting this, a number of prominent Muslims of the locality went to the police station to report against the unprovoked attack. Some policemen came round to the scene of the riot but went back after a while without making any investigation.

After an interval of four hours the Police Commissioner of Bombay, accompanied by his senior officers, reached the spot but, oddly enough, they did not even care to question the culprits. On the other hand, they dragged Muslims out of their houses and after beating them rounded up about 300 people.—*Qiadat*, Bombay, 21 December 1961.

When a deputation went to see the Bombay Chief Minister, Mr. Yashwant Rao Chavan, he bluntly told them that the riots were started by the Muslims.—*Aaj*, Bombay, 22 December 1961.

Calcutta, April 19: A Muslim member of the Indian Parliament, Syed Badruddujja, has expressed regrets and surprise that the entire Indian leadership should have kept quiet on the communal riots now taking place in India.

" The Jabbalpur tragedy ", he said, " had once again been repeated in the Gojole P.S. of Malda district. I express deep sorrow on the communal riots of Malda district which started on March 23 on an incident of throwing of coloured water on Muslims."

" Fourteen Muslims were killed although in the news published in the *Hindustan Standard* it was stated that only 10 persons were killed. The seriousness of the riots can be well understood from the fact that out of 14 persons killed several were burnt alive, when their houses were burnt and some women were also molested and raped. This reveals the extent of helplessness of the Muslims.

"This is not the first time that such an incident has occurred in the last 12 years. Hundreds of incidents of this nature, in which loss of life and properties of Muslims were involved, took place in several parts of India. It was highly regrettable that except a few, all the newspapers completely blacked out this news so much so that the question on the incident asked by Dr. Gholam Yazdani in the Assembly was also not reported by the newspapers.

"I am extremely sorry that all the party leaders in India in general and in West Bengal in particular, preferred to remain completely silent on this tragedy......"—*Asr-e-Jadid*, Calcutta, 20 April 1962.

Bijapur April 3: Six Harijans, including women and children, were burnt to death and three murdered when a crowd attacked Harijans at Nindoni village near here this morning.

A man died of bullet wounds and four other men were wounded when one head constable and three constables opened fire to restore order. The four wounded are in hospital. One is critically ill.

A police spokesman said there had been long-standing enmity between the Harijans at the Harijanwada and the attackers.

Last night an eight-year Harijan boy was beaten up by a non-Harijan in a minor quarrel. The Harijans detained the assailant in their colony at night.

By morning nearly 300 people, many armed with axes and two with fire-arms, attacked the Harijanwada and set fire to the huts. Thirteen huts were razed to the ground. Ten were damaged.—*Indian Express*, Bombay, 4 April 1963.

The Congress, which is so keen to modernize the Hindus, whose emergence into a new pattern of living and thinking has already been phenomenal, is extremely loth to improve the Muslim community. They are taught by an insidious propaganda to hate and suspect the Hindu and all his works but to worship the Congress which stood for the *Khilafat*......and has practised a systematic policy of using the Muslims as political pawns while appeasing them

with " gifts " calculated to retard their progress into the light of the 20th century. Situated as they are Indian Muslims are likely victims of the minority phobia of loss of identity and submergence. These suspicions are fixed by the special concessions to them by a party bent upon keeping them isolated from the current of national life.—*Organizer*, Delhi, 8 July 1963.

"...... The Nagas' offer of a cease-fire, in order to pursue peace talks, was rejected by the Indian Government. In place of a cease-fire and truce, India insisted on total capitulation before any peace talks could take place. This was unacceptable to the Nagas......."

" There never has been any question of a proper amnesty in the accepted sense of the term. India is only using this as propaganda to project the image of reasonableness to the outside world. But, in actual fact, over the past few weeks and months, the Indian Government has been steadily increasing her troop concentrations in Naga territory. Aerial bombing of unprotected villages has killed many Naga civilians and many thousands have been put into barbed wire concentration camps. The Indians call this "remodelling of Naga villages".—*Flame*, Delhi, 27 July 1963.

Our (Nagas') history bears testimony to the truth that whenever one caste or community endeavoured to dominate and impose its will over others, the price had to be paid by the country as a whole. The price was centuries of subjugation and subjection......

When the British who alone could subjugate them went, the old free and wild life attracted them. Mr. Zapu Angami Phizo emerged as a hero and began demanding complete Independence. Poverty, distress and continued negligence made the people think and believe that India's Independence was NOT the Independence of Nagaland.

The obduracy of the Nehru Government, their threatening attitude and utter indifference to the Nagas' line of thinking, coupled with the harshness meted out in handling the situation, filled the people with spite and hatred against the extremist section of the people.—*Current*, Bombay, 6 July 1963.

Calcutta, June 14: Tezpur Muslims did not observe Moharram yesterday and no procession was taken out as protest against what their leaders described as " curtailment of certain privileges enjoyed by them in the past in connexion with the festival ", reports Press Trust of India.

The Superintendent of Police had restricted open display of weapons on the road for two of the four nights of the festival.—*The Statesman*, Delhi, 6 June 1962.

Master Tara Singh has said: "The last general election had clearly shown that the Sikh minority favoured Punjab Suba as the Akali Dal candidates had polled 1,600,000 of the 2,100,000 Sikh votes in the Punjabi region."

He contested the claim of the Congress that it was secular and that it represented the Sikh minority in view of the "above mentioned facts ".—*The Statesman*, Delhi, 17 September 1963.

Mr. Buta Singh (Swatantra—Punjab) accused the Congress of going back on its pledges to the Sikh community given before Independence.—*Times of India*, Bombay, 22 August 1963.

CHAPTER IX

CIVIC AMENITIES

If reports appearing almost daily are a barometer, hospitals, in India's major cities like Bombay, are becoming slaughter houses where death works overtime.

Astonishing apathy, criminal negligence, paralytic inefficiency, irritating indifference, ruthless redtape and scandalous lack of elementary social and moral consciousness have become the surgical instruments and patent medicines in the city's hospitals. Men, women and children are considered helpless pawns while human life is treated as the cheapest commodity in the world.

The following few examples taken at random will show how the physicians and surgeons and nursing sisters are behaving in a manner that would horrify even a barbarian—examples, that will convince anyone of the seriousness of the problem that is fast assuming monstrous proportions:

In mid-January 1963, a woman died in Bombay's Tilak Hospital because of a surgeon's insistence on giving certain injections to the ailing woman, who was allergic to them, despite the husband's warning and protest.

A judge of a city court recently passed strictures against an ill-equipped doctor who performed an operation on a child which proved fatal to the innocent tiny tot.

Bombay's veteran social worker, Mrs. Bapsey Sabavala, exposed in this paper two cases of deaths of two tiny tots, one in Jerbai

Wadia Hospital and the other in St. George's. In both the cases, relatives were driven from pillar to post, frantically pleading for medical aid, in vain. Though the doctors declared the children dead in a matter-of-fact tone, we believe they are nothing short of plain, bloody murders.

Only last week, a young man of 30, suffering from TB, failed to get admission in the TB Hospital at Sewree and died like a dog on the rain-beaten pavements of Bombay.

Not only are such cases confined to Bombay, but such reports are also coming in from towns in all the States.—Editorial, *Blitz*, Bombay, 20 July 1963.

But, is any explanation acceptable when it is a question of life, or when a man is allowed to die on the streets and left there for hours, perhaps days in some cases, especially in a city like Bombay?

Numbers, poverty and disease have numbed all feeling, social consciousness and duty towards the sick, the hungry, the naked and the dead.

Evidence of this can be got in abundance in the many city hospitals, where even urgent cases of life and death cannot cut through the barriers of red tape.

Forms must be filled, and formalities complied with before a patient can even get on to a bed, let alone be injected or go on to a bed.

The last two months saw the murder of two innocent children because of red tape, inefficiency and negligence in hospitals......

Moreover, while the small fry get caught, the superior offenders are able to get away with it. Ministers are available to certify their efficiency and incorruptibility.

In fact, callousness is writ large in every public hospital and dispensary. The contagion has already started to foul private surgeries and nursing homes.—*Blitz*, Bombay, 6 July 1963.

Since May 1963 we have been hearing and reading of nothing but horrors committed upon our dumb Animal Friends and human

beings. These are the victims of delayed medical service, inefficiency, lethargy, and of utter lack of social and moral conscience. In short, a state of Godlessness.—*Blitz*, Bombay, 3 August 1963.

Filth and dirt are constant companions of the citizens. Fashionable areas like Marine Drive, too, are cluttered with the leavings at eating stalls buzzing with flies, and stink of night soil.

Inadequate urinals in the city result in persons relieving themselves on open roads.

In the matter of health, the City's hospitals are avoided as houses of death, to go to only as a last resort. Recently a TB patient was denied admission to the Sewree TB Hospital because, explained Municipal Commissioner Sukthankar, he did not vomit blood while waiting for about three hours outside the hospital! He was left to die on the streets.

These and other instances of criminal neglect of the city's welfare show that the Municipal Commissioner and the departments in his charge are pemanently on strike while they continue to live luxuriously on public money.

City roads, incessantly dug up and re-laid, look with their potholes and uneven surfaces, as if mine-fields had been exploding. Potholes, eight to ten inches deep, and in places even more, menace cars and buses. Metal and stones carpet roads even in such leading thoroughfares as Queen's Road, Hornby Road, Mahatma Gandhi Road and Marine Drive. The state of roads is worse in the slum areas.

The people ask: "Who are the contractors who have battened on these road repairs, and who are their patrons in the Corporation?"—*Blitz*, Bombay, 24 August 1963.

CHAPTER X

KASHMIR AND INDO-PAKISTAN RELATIONS

New Delhi, March 8: The hope, that the Indo-Pakistan talks beginning in Calcutta next week, will bring the Kashmir problem nearer a settlement, is expressed in a statement issued by 15 leaders from all walks of life.

Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan, Mr. C. D. Deshmukh, Mr. J. J. Singh, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, Mr. K. Santhanam, Mr. Frank Anthony and Mr. A. D. Mani, M.Ps. are among the signatories.

The statement says: "We have welcomed and are following with earnest hope the progress of the talks at ministerial level between India and Pakistan for the laudable objective of 'an equitable and honourable solution of Kashmir and other related problems'.

"We are convinced, as must be people in Pakistan who realise the value of a friendly solution, that on the successful outcome of these talks depends the future progress, material and moral, of both States and of the hundreds of millions living in the sub-continent......"
—*The Hindustan Times*, Delhi, 9 March 1963.

A letter signed by 50 non-Congress M.Ps. addressed to Prime Minister Nehru urged the withdrawal of court action against Shaikh Abdullah who is in detention for over 10 years and there is "no knowing how long the court proceedings would take". They said the present is an opportune and favourable time for unconditional release. The signatories have criticised the heavy expenditure incurred

on the court cases against Shaikh Abdullah. The cases have had an adverse effect on the country's foreign policy and economy, it is argued.—*Times of India*, Bombay, 28 September 1963.

The weekly *Insight* carried an article on Kashmir by its Editor, J. M. Lobe Prabhu, in which he suggested plebiscite in the Kashmir valley proceded by an interrugnum of ten year by the U.N. According to him, the U.N. could locate itself or some of its institutions in Kashmir to thicken its economic life......He said that the proposal had been made by U.N. representatives before, and would be acceptable to the U.N. Pakistan, he argued, would be relieved that Indian troops would leave Kashmir and secondly that the period of waiting might not seriously reduce the prospects of accession to it.—*Insight*, Mangalore, 28 January 1963.

The *Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, in its feature column " International Affairs " stresses the need of co-operation and spirit of goodwill between Pakistan and India in view of " the threat from the North ". Admitting that the main hurdle in the achievement of such a co-operation is the dispute of Kashmir, the contributor thinks: " The question of Kashmir is not impossible to be rid of much of the emotional froth and fumesthat envelope it today, if only the leaders in India and Pakistan, even at this stage, manage to put it in the larger context of the military security, economic progress and social well-being of the sub-continent as a whole." He pleads for reversing "......the trend of thinking and feeling in India and Pakistan".—*Hindustan Times*, Delhi, 26 July, 1963.

Patiala, July 3: Master Tara Singh claimed that he had an effective solution of Kashmir problem which he said was our sole weakness in defending our borders against the Chinese aggression.

Addressing a public meeting here last evening, he suggested that the Government of India should release Shaikh Abdullah who, according to him is a pro-Indian and not a communalist. He added that Shaikh Abdullah is the right man to be talked to.—*Tribune*, Ambala, 4 July 1963.